

ELEUSIS AND THE ROMANS: LATE REPUBLIC TO MARCUS AURELIUS

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The Mysteries existed at Eleusis at least as far back as the mid-seventh century before Christ, and from at least sometime in that century they became closely associated with the Athenian *polis*.¹ The association was most tangibly expressed by a sanctuary in the center of Athens, called the Eleusinion, which was situated just above the Agora on the north slope of the Acropolis. From here each year the priests took the sacred objects that were to be revealed in the Mysteries and escorted them on their journey to Eleusis, in the month of Boedromion (i.e., toward the end of September), over a distance of 21 kilometers.² What was promised to the initiates, through a vision in the Telesterion (Fig. 1, no. 7), in the sacred night of Boedromion 21, was a happier lot in the afterlife: "Happy is the mortal who has seen these things, but he who is not initiated in the rites, who does not share in them, he does not have a share of like things when he is dead in the dank gloom" (*Hymm. Hom. Cer.* 480–482). Or, to take a description closer to our period, from Cicero: *neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi* ("not only do we learn a way of living in happiness but also a way of dying with greater hope," *Leg.* 2.36). The experience of the Mysteries caused the initiate to undergo a kind of dying, an experience not dissimilar in important respects to the "death," as it were, of the goddess Kore.³

A year after initiation the initiate was eligible for a higher stage, called *epopteia* or *epoptika*, i.e., "beholding". At this moment these higher initiates evidently viewed an image of a stalk of grain, "harvested in silence" (as one source tells us), most likely in conjunction with the appearance of a boy, Ploutos, Demeter's son, the personification of agrarian wealth.⁴ Ploutos represented the agrarian benefits bestowed by Demeter and Kore on those who were dear to them, and none were dearer than the initiates who had shared the goddesses' grief and subsequent joy. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter proclaims: "Very prosperous is he who of mortal men is loved by these goddesses; straightway do they send to his great home Ploutos, who sits by his hearth and brings wealth to mortals" (*Hymm. Hom. Cer.* 486–489). This is also reflected in Cicero's words quoted above: *cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus*.

The Mysteries were evidently attracting international attention at least by the middle of the sixth century B.C. Abundant evidence reveals that the cult was enjoying steadily increasing popularity from then to the mid-fourth century and beyond, and

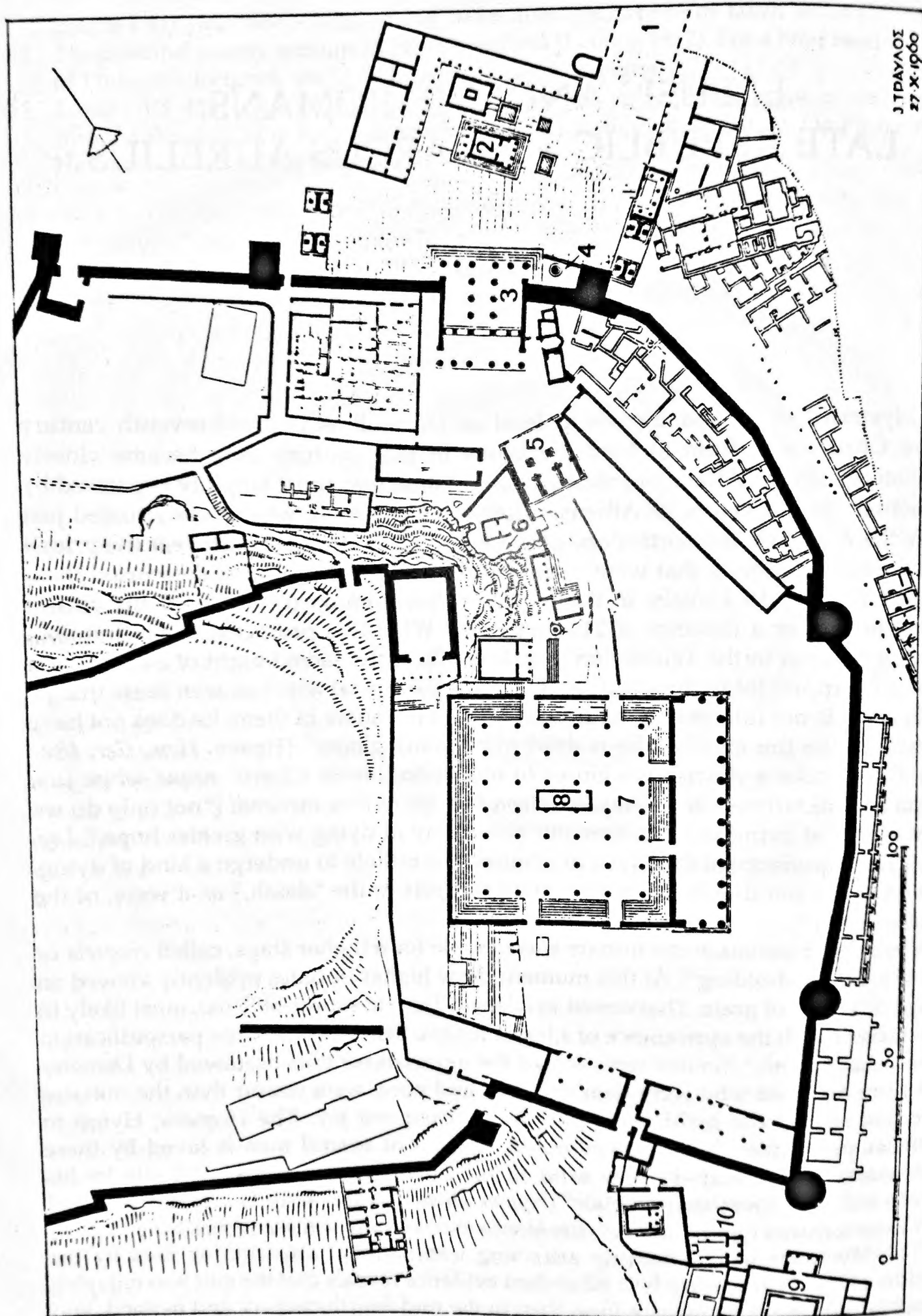


FIG. 1. Plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. After J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) 49, fig. 4.

Athens used this popularity to her advantage, in proclaiming the festival to be one of her gifts to the Greek world – a theme that was also broadcast through artistic representations of Triptolemos going about his altruistic mission. By the Hellenistic period this shining example of Athenian generosity was widely acknowledged; for example, in a decree of the Amphictions at Delphi, which reports: "...the people (of Athens) became responsible for our social bond with one another by introducing the tradition of the Mysteries and by announcing to all that the greatest good among men was social intercourse and trust..." (IG II², 1134).⁵ And Cicero echoed those sentiments in the same passage cited in part above: "Athens, it seems to me, has brought forth many outstanding and divine things and introduced them to mankind, but she has produced nothing better than those Mysteries by which we were brought out of a rude and boorish existence to *humanitas* and became civilized, and as they are called *initia*, so truly do we learn (in them) the beginnings (*principia*) of life...."

ROMANS

Toward the end of the second century before Christ, i.e., around the time that Cicero was born, Roman visitors to Eleusis and the Mysteries are first attested, and afterwards their periodic appearance in our documentation suggests that they came in a fairly steady stream.⁶ The most famous visitor in the first century B.C. was Augustus. He went to Eleusis and took part in the Mysteries shortly after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. He went again in the year 19, but not in Boedromion, the month in which the festival was normally held. In order to accommodate the emperor, the festival was celebrated, most unusually, a second time this year, evidently at the emperor's request, so that he could experience the *epopteia*. It is not clear whether Augustus ever provided financial support for the embellishment of the sanctuary.⁷

Some of his immediate successors had less direct engagement with the Mysteries. Claudius, an admirer of the cult, tried to transfer it to Rome, but was successfully resisted. Nero, it was rumored, did not attend the Mysteries for fear of being turned away as unclean; but the only thing we can really be sure of is that he simply did not attend, the reason probably having nothing to do with fear of rejection.⁸

No further involvement by emperors is attested until Hadrian, but let us go back to Augustus. Not long after the battle of Actium, at any rate before 27 B.C., the Athenians set up a rather large monument at Eleusis in honor of the emperor (not yet called Augustus) and his wife, Livia Drusilla. Its editor, Eugene Vanderpool, recognized five blocks that belonged to it, one of them bearing the labels Λ - Α, which evidently indicate that there were 12 blocks in this course of the monument.⁹ The monument deserves further study by experts in architecture in order to determine its precise type, but it does not take special knowledge to realize that it was a sizable structure, ca. five meters to a side – a massive monument, set up by the Athenians to honor the emperor and his wife. It contained at least one course of blocks above the inscribed course and at least another below. (We shall return to this monument below.)

It was not the first sign of homage the Athenians gave to royalty at Eleusis. There

is an unpublished statue base at Eleusis, from ca. 70 B.C., that held statues of at least four members of the royal family of Cappadocia: Ariobarzanes II, his wife, and two of his daughters. The name of the dedicator is not given, but it is of course most likely the Athenian people. Ariobarzanes II and his family had a strong attachment to Athens and Athenian culture. He served as an *ephebe*¹⁰ and no doubt was initiated in the Mysteries. During his reign the Odeion of Pericles, which had been burned in Sulla's sack of Athens, was restored through his munificence.¹¹ A dedication set up in the city by the Athenians commemorates him as benefactor, *εὐεργέτης*, surely in gratitude for his reconstruction of the Odeion (and perhaps other benefactions as well).¹² The statue group of his family at Eleusis may reflect thanks for benefactions also at Eleusis, but at the least it suggests that the Athenians would have welcomed such contributions.

Although we do not know whether Ariobarzanes contributed anything to the sanctuary, we do know that the Athenians did find a foreign benefactor for Eleusis approximately 20 years later, a very well known Roman, Appius Claudius Pulcher. He started the construction of the Lesser Propylaia in 51 or slightly earlier. The building (Fig. 1, no. 5), adorned with Corinthian columns, cistophoroi representing Eleusinian priestesses, and a frieze of cult symbols, was finished some years later, after his death, by his heirs. What is clear from Cicero's correspondence is that Roman admirers of Greek culture were eager to build monuments in Athens – Cicero himself was seriously tempted to finance a propylon for the Academy – and the Athenians were just as eager in welcoming this interest. Such cultural interest was probably always an important aspect of Roman participation in the Mysteries. In the case of Claudius Pulcher this mutual interest bore splendid fruit at Eleusis. The monument carries a Latin inscription, the only extant Latin inscription from the sanctuary, among hundreds of Greek dedicatory inscriptions.¹³ In this extraordinary Latin document we might see an attempt at Romanization, for it represents a precedent that might have been followed. But it was not. At any rate, the inscription tells us that Claudius vowed this dedication to Ceres and Proserpina while he was consul, he began it while he was *imperator*, and his heirs completed it. Why a consul in Rome would make a vow to dedicate a monument at Eleusis is intriguing. The answer, I suspect, may have to do with a pressing situation in which Claudius Pulcher found himself as consul in 54 B.C. That year the Tiber overflowed its banks in an unusually severe flood, which covered most of the low-lying areas of the city and even some of the higher ground, and resulted in much loss of life and property; in addition, a large amount of the city's grain being held in storage was destroyed.¹⁴ It then fell to Pompey, who for the past few years had been dealing with the problem of securing the grain supply, to seek out, now most urgently, new sources of grain to replenish what was lost. It may well be that on this occasion the consul Claudius, who was a partisan of Pompey's and related to him by marriage, made a vow to Ceres and Proserpina that he would make them a splendid gift if the goddesses of grain came to his aid. His piety was well known.¹⁵ He need not have had Eleusis in mind at the moment that he made the vow. Fulfillment of it at the famous sanctuary may have occurred to him only in the following year when he was on his way to Cilicia to serve his proconsulate. What is most interesting here is an association of

events in the city of Rome, whether or not precisely as I have suggested, with the goddesses of Eleusis. The prominent Latin dedication on the Propylaia is of a sort that one commonly encounters in Rome.

Statues of Cicero's friend Atticus and Phaidros, the head of the Epicurean School (probably at the instigation of Phaidros's daughter) was set up at Eleusis, on a single base, by the Athenians.¹⁶ We do not know if Atticus contributed to the sanctuary, but considering his benefactions to Athens,¹⁷ it would be quite surprising if he did not, directly or indirectly.

In the most spectacular honor that the Athenians gave to Roman benefactors in this period they referred to Mark Antony and his wife Octavia as gods.¹⁸

So the large monument for Augustus and Livia, five meters square, which I described earlier, may be seen as another example of Athenian cultivation of Roman benefactors. On it the emperor is called the Savior and Benefactor of the Athenian people.¹⁹

I

ὁ δῆμος
Λιβίαν Δρουσίλλαν
[αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος
γυναῖκα

5

II

ὁ δῆμος
αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα]
θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱοῦ
τὸν αὐτοῦ σωτῆ[ρα]
καὶ εὐεργέτην

What is remarkable about the monument, as mentioned above, is its size, nearly five meters on a side.²⁰ Its internal space would be approximately the same, or just a bit larger, than the internal space of the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis, which was built a few years later.²¹ We may naturally wonder whether the Eleusinian structure could have housed imperial cult,²² though no clue is given in the inscription, a simple dedicatory type, quite unlike the grandiose inscription that adorned the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis: "The people (dedicated this) to the goddess Roma and Augustus Caesar, when Pammenes the son of Zenon of Marathon was hoplite general, the priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus Savior on the Acropolis, when Megiste the daughter of Asklepiades of Halai was priestess of Athena, in the archonship of Areios the son of Dorion of Paiania."²³ Whether an inscription of this sort was placed on the Eleusinian structure, in addition to the simple dedications to Octavian and Livia, seems doubtful. In any case Eleusis and the Acropolis were the initial sites in the Athenian *polis* of very large monuments to Augustus. It is intriguing that the priest of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis temple is called the priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus Savior *on the Acropolis*. The qualification "on the Acropolis" suggests that there was another priest of Roma and Augustus (as some have assumed)²⁴ or just of Augustus (as Spawforth and I note) who served elsewhere in Athens. Could he have served at its Panhellenic sanctuary in the deme of Eleusis?

The Acropolis priest was a member of the Eumolpidai, one of the two priestly clans who were in charge of the Eleusinian Mysteries (his son was an exegete of the Eumolpidai).²⁵ These Eleusinian clans, we shall see, seem to have taken much of the initiative in establishing the Athenian imperial cult.

The existence of two cults of the emperor is in fact reflected in the seating arrangement of the Theater of Dionysos. The priest of Roma and Augustus had a seat in the sixth row in the theater,²⁶ but the priest of Augustus Caesar sat in the first row,²⁷ which yields a hierarchy: the priest of Roma and Augustus takes a back seat to the priest of Augustus. It is conceivable of course that while Augustus was alive the priest of Roma and Augustus had a seat in the first row but was shifted to the rear sometime after Augustus died.²⁸ At any rate, on this evidence, it is reasonably clear that at Athens there were two priests of Augustus, one of Roma and Augustus, the other simply of Augustus Caesar. The answer, then, to one of the questions posed by the phrase "on the Acropolis" is affirmative: there was another priest of Augustus. But where did he serve?

Our first evidence for an incumbent of the priesthood of Augustus Caesar comes from Eleusis, on a fragment of a statue base.²⁹

post med. s. I a.

[----- Καίσαρα Δία Βουλαῖ[ον -----]
 [----- ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀ[-----]
 [----- κήρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου --]
 [----- Τρικoryεύσιος -----]

It was published by A. Skias in 1897 but in the first line he thought only of the ethnic Ἀραδία, which, he admitted, is not very probable.³⁰ The first three preserved letters in line 1 should belong to the god's name, and it is hard to see what else they might be but part of Καίσαρα. The closest Athenian parallel is Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα Νέον Ἀπόλλωνα on a base in honor of Augustus.³¹ So we can restore the short form of Augustus's name. The words in line 3 ought to be part of the title of the herald of the Boule and Demos, and this is happily reinforced by line 4, which contains, as Skias saw, the demotic Trikorysios. It so happens that this demotic belongs to a herald of the Boule and the Demos, viz. Kallikratides son of Syndromos, attested for the period ca. 45–30 B.C.³² He therefore is most likely the dedicator of the base. He was a member of the Eumolpidai and the great-grandfather of a hierophant, Oinophilos son of Syndromos, who held this priesthood at the beginning of the second century A.D. (at a prior time he too was herald of the Boule and Demos).³³

It is conceivable that the honorand was Julius Caesar, but as we have no other record of him being worshipped as a god at Athens,³⁴ prime consideration should be given to Augustus. The restoration, accordingly, will be αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα or, if the dedication was made after he received the title of Augustus in 27, the short form, Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα. Zeus Boulaios is associated with the Bouleuterion.³⁵ The Athenian Bouleuterion at Eleusis was still functioning at this time, and presumably this base with its statue was set up in or near it.³⁶ Thus we may restore:

post a. 27 a.

[Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα Δία Βουλαῖ[ον -- 6-7- --]
 [-- ca. 7- -- ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀ[γωνοθέτης?]
 [----- καὶ κῆρυξ β]ουλῆς καὶ δ[ήμου Καλλι]-
 [κρατίδης Συνδρόμου Τρικ]ορῶ[σιος- -----]

In lines 1-2 there may have been another honorand, viz. Livia, or, more likely, additional epithets of Augustus. The title at the end of line 2 ought to indicate another office.³⁷ The location of the inscription does not necessarily suggest that imperial cult took place at Eleusis, though it is certainly compatible with such activity. Augustus's priest simply honored him here as Zeus Boulaios, just as Claudius's priest honored Claudius in (or near) the Agora as Apollo Patroös.³⁸

There is some reason to think that cult for Tiberius existed at Eleusis. An Eleusinian inscription, written on what one editor called an architrave, tells us that the monument was dedicated by the Athenians in honor of the emperor, but the person who paid for it had been appointed priest of Tiberius for life, a man by the name of Papios of Marathon:³⁹

[*vacat*] Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν *vacat*
 [ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀ]ρίου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος ἐπὶ ἱερείας Κλεοῦς]
 [τῆς Εὐκλέους] Φλυέως θυγατρός, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῇ[ς ἀναθέσεως *vacat*]
 [*vacat*] Παπί(ου) Μαραθωνίου, ἱερέως ὄντος διὰ [βίου *vacat*]
vacat Παπί(ου) Μαραθωνίου. *vacat*

Another fragmentary dedication at Eleusis is clearly a mate of a sort to the one for Tiberius:⁴⁰

14-29

[Ιουλίαν Σεβαστ]ῆν ἡ βου[λὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀ]ρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος ἐπὶ]
 [ἱερείας Κλεοῦς τ]ῆς Εὐκλ[έους Φλυέως, γόνωι δὲ Νικοδήμου Ἑρμείου *vacat*]
 [*vacat*] θυγ[ατρός, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναθέσεως *nomen?* *vacat*]
 [*vacat*] Πρ[αξα]γόρου? *demoticum*, ἱερέως ὄντος διὰ βίου *vacat*]
 [*nomen?* Πραξαγόρου? *demoticum*]

Although the fragment is quite small, there can be no doubt that it must be closely associated with the preceding inscription: the treatment of the surface, the height of the letters, the interlinear spacing, and the hand are all the same as in the dedication for Tiberius. Nor can there be any doubt that it is for Livia, now called Julia Augusta, the title she received after Augustus's death: the end of the name that appears before ἡ βου[λὴ], according to dedicatory formulas of this period, should be that of an emperor or a member of his family, in this case a woman. Since the priest is evidently not Papios of Marathon, it follows that Tiberius and Livia had separate priests. The preserved block of the Tiberius monument is unusual.⁴¹ The lettering is large, 0.045

m. high; there is anathyrosis on the left (the right side is not preserved), indicating that it consisted of at least two blocks but probably at least three in order to be symmetrical, and thus it was at least 4.5 m. wide. In addition, it has on its top surface a channel of obscure purpose, 0.11 m. wide and 0.02 m. deep, running the whole width of the block, just a few centimeters behind the front. If these monuments served only as bases, they are extraordinary.

These twin-like monumental settings at Eleusis may provide us with a perspective for addressing the question of the location of the cult of Tiberius and Livia in central Athens. The Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis clearly was unsuitable, as it was too small to house the two of them in addition to Roma and Augustus. But in the Agora an unusual structure was built in the early Empire: twin rooms were added, at great effort and expense, to the rear of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (a considerable section of the bedrock of the hill had to be removed); the archaeological evidence indicates a date in the reign of Augustus or slightly later.⁴² Homer Thompson believed that this was the other site of the imperial cult implied by the phrase "on the Acropolis" in the title of the priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus Savior. However, now that evidence from Eleusis suggests that one other imperial cult in the *polis* was located there, the question to be asked is whether there was a structure in the lower city, in addition to those on the Acropolis and in Eleusis, for the cult of Augustus. So far the evidence (discussed by Spawforth) is unclear; the Temple of Ares in the Agora remains a candidate.⁴³ But what about Tiberius? Since the twin rooms behind the Stoa of Zeus would not be suitable to house just the cult of Roma and Augustus,⁴⁴ Thompson posited some other Roman abstraction or a later emperor for the second room. In theory, this is quite possible. The divided cella of the Tiberian temple at Lepcis Magna held statues of the deified Augustus and Rome and Tiberius and Livia, presumably a pair in either room.⁴⁵ However, we may wonder whether in Athens, where Roma and Augustus had already been so well set up on the nearby Acropolis, and where their priest's theater seat indicates a much lower status than the priest of Augustus,⁴⁶ enthusiasm for the cult was such that another site would have been dedicated to it in such close proximity. As the rooms in the Stoa annex may be slightly later than Augustan, and they are twins, the cult of Tiberius and Livia would seem to make a better fit. At Eleusis this imperial pair, judging by their inscriptions, seem to have had twin monumental settings. In the Agora, furthermore, Tiberius was the object of special display. Eugene Vanderpool assembled the pieces of an inscription from a statue base that stood in front of the Stoa of Attalos, approximately at the center of the building: "The Areopagos and the People and the Boule of the Six Hundred to the god Tiberius Caesar Augustus, benefactor of the city."⁴⁷ This was a huge monument, very tall, approximately 3.6 m. wide, now in its second use. Originally it no doubt held a statue of Attalos II, the donor of the Stoa. Now, supporting a statue of Tiberius and a bronze quadriga, it resembled, in size and type, the great monument to Agrippa at the entrance to the Acropolis (also in its second use). Thus Tiberius dominated the Agora, while Augustus and Rome held sway on the Acropolis. Yet there is a significant obstacle to assigning Tiberius and Livia to the twin rooms of the Stoa: Thompson pointed out that the crowning course of the statue base in the south chamber, a fragment of which is preserved, shows a

socket for the right foot of a bronze statue, of such size that three statues of similar scale could have been accommodated on the base.⁴⁸ Other cuttings on the crowning course, however, present a confusing picture, which may reflect a change in arrangement; that is, an original single statue or a pair may have given way to three. It is also unclear whether the crowning course is contemporaneous with the construction of the annex or is a later replacement.⁴⁹ Thus identification of the divine inhabitants of the annex must, for the moment, remain in the realm of hypothesis.

At Eleusis, as we saw, Papios of Marathon, the priest of Tiberius, held office for life. He was simply the priest of Tiberius, but this emperor also had a high priest. A statue base at Eleusis honors a man who was at the same time the high priest of Tiberius and the priest of Apollo Patroös: Polycharmos son of Eukles of Marathon.⁵⁰ If he belongs, as some believe, to the famous Marathonian family that produced Herodes Atticus,⁵¹ he belongs also to the second great priestly clan of the Mysteries, the Kerykes. The fact that his statue was set up at Eleusis probably indicates a connection with the Eleusinian sanctuary; that is, he presided over a cult of Tiberius situated in or near it. It is possible that the imperial priesthoods of Papios and Polycharmos were contemporaneous, but it seems safer to assume just one priesthood of the reigning emperor, and that the priest (Papios) was succeeded by a high priest (Polycharmos). Another statue base at Eleusis honored a man who was a priest of Tiberius (whether high or ordinary is unclear) and who was simultaneously an exegete of the Eumolpidai.⁵² The lacuna where his name stood would perfectly fit Papios. At any rate, the high priest Polycharmos and this other priest of Tiberius, quite possibly Papios, testify to the continuing domination of the imperial priesthood by the principal priestly clans of Eleusis.

Two points about Polycharmos deserve further comment: 1) the new title, high priest, and 2) his simultaneous priesthood of Apollo Patroös.

To take the latter first: Although not explicitly stated, it is tempting to think that Tiberius was worshipped also as Apollo Patroös. A statue base honoring Claudius, set up in or near the Agora by his priest, Dionysodoros, explicitly indicates that Claudius was regarded as Apollo Patroös.⁵³ However, the base for Claudius does not also indicate that Dionysodoros was priest of Apollo Patroös, whereas the base for Polycharmos does state that he was the high priest of Tiberius *and* priest of Apollo Patroös. It follows that the two priesthoods were separate and not automatically linked: in the first case the priest of Claudius evidently was not simultaneously serving as priest of Apollo;⁵⁴ in the second, the two priesthoods happened to be held simultaneously. Thus it is clear that Dionysodoros, while serving as priest of Claudius, identified the emperor with Apollo Patroös and honored him as such. At this point in time I assume that Polycharmos, the priest of Apollo Patroös, was still the high priest of (the deceased) Tiberius.

In Athens the title "high priest," ἀρχιερεύς, makes its first appearance in the titulature of Polycharmos. This title designates the priest with the highest standing among all priests in a given community.⁵⁵ This was the common meaning of the title in the Greek world, and is in fact attested at a later date at Athens: in a list of priests at Eleusis the high priest appears ahead of all Eleusinian and Athenian priests except, naturally enough in this setting, the hierophant and daduch.⁵⁶ Thus Polycharmos,

apparently the first high priest at Athens, had the highest standing among all Athenian priests. He presumably held this honor to his death, which could have occurred as late as ca. A.D. 42–46,⁵⁷ at which time the honor was passed to Ti. Claudius Novius, as high priest (in the posthumous cult) of Antonia Augusta, the mother of Claudius.⁵⁸ At this time therefore, while Polycharmos and then Novius were holding the high-priesthood, the priests of other members of the imperial family had to remain simply ἱερεῖς: C. Silius Polykritos, priest of Valeria Messalina,⁵⁹ Dionysodoros son of Sophokles of Sounion, priest of Claudius and [- -],⁶⁰ and Ti. Claudius Eukles son of Sostratos, priest of Julia Agrippina Augusta (Agrippina the younger; see below). And by 61/2 Novius, after a reorganization of the imperial cult, which occurred late in the reign of Claudius or under Nero, continued his high-priestly status but expanded his portfolio, becoming now high priest "of the house of the Sebastoi."⁶¹ Once a high priest, one evidently kept that status for life.⁶²

At Eleusis we have clear evidence, though of an indirect sort, for a cult of Claudius or Nero. A cult of Agrippina the younger, wife of Claudius and mother of Nero, existed there, and it is hardly likely that there was a cult for her but not for her husband or son. The evidence is an entablature block, damaged but measuring over a meter in width, with anathyrosis on the left (Fig. 2).⁶³

Ι^{στ} ὁ [ἱερεὺς [α]ὐ[τ]ῆς Τιβ Κλαύδιος]
 Ι^{στ} Εὐκλῆς Σωστράτ[ου - - *demoticum* - -]
 'Ι] Ιουλίαι [.^{ca. 11}] Σε[βαστῇ]

The inscription tells us that the building was dedicated to a Julia Augusta whose cognomen of approximately 11 letters was erased, and that the dedicator was her priest, Ti. Claudius Eukles son of Sostratos, who was probably a member of the family of Herodes Atticus and therefore also a member of the Eleusinian Kerykes. This Julia Augusta was undoubtedly Julia Agrippina Augusta, who received the title of Augusta in the year 50. After Nero had her put to death he ordered her statues and inscriptions destroyed.⁶⁴ Presumably therefore, like Agrippina, Claudius or Nero was also served at Eleusis by a priest. A statue of Nero found there is now in the local museum, but its precise finding place is unrecorded.⁶⁵ At any rate, the entablature block from the shrine of Agrippina offers incontrovertible proof that emperor cult existed at Eleusis, and it confirms that the earlier monuments set up at Eleusis by or for priests of the emperor probably reflect the fact that they performed sacral functions there.

Unfortunately we do not know the location of the Eleusinian imperial cult. A statue of Tiberius was found in a colonnaded building (Fig. 1, no. 9; Fig. 3) just outside the sanctuary opposite the southern tower of the peribolos. The entablature block from the shrine of Agrippina (Fig. 2) lies near this tower and about ten meters away from the building. The excavator, K. Kourouniotes, remarked that the statue of Tiberius was found together with "a headless female statue, either Demeter or a Roman empress represented as Demeter."⁶⁶ This may be Livia. (It is not impossible that the statue of Nero mentioned above, of unknown finding place, also came from here.) It seems to me that we should regard this complex as the most likely site of the imperial cult at Eleusis.⁶⁷ It abuts a smaller building (Fig. 1, no. 10; Fig. 4), whose



FIG. 2. Entablature block. Photo by the author.

porch has a classical krepis. D. Giraud argued that this krepis was reused from the classical Propylon that was destroyed when the Lesser Propylaia were built by Appius Claudius Pulcher, and that this building in which the krepis was then reused is most likely Augustan.⁶⁸ It seems to have housed cult (the excavators called it a Mithraeum but an Augustan date would be impossible for a Mithraeum); its interior room has a bench on either side and a low base at the far end (2.8 m. x 2.0 m.).⁶⁹ Except for the reused krepis it was not built of marble, though it probably either had marble revetment or was simply coated with stucco. In view of its proximity to the building that housed the statues of Tiberius and (presumably) Livia, we may regard it as a candidate for the shrine of Augustus.⁷⁰

A fragmentary dedicatory inscription recorded on Salamis, IG II², 3562, honors a man who "erected the statues of the Sebastoi ἐν αὐτῷ (presumably a shrine) at his own expense and became the first high priest of the Sebastoi."⁷¹ As Spawforth has noted, ἐν αὐτῷ ought to refer to an imperial precinct in which the honorand placed the statues: "A unified ensemble of imperial representations should be imagined, embracing the living emperor and a selection from his family and predecessors."⁷² And Spawforth assembled a very strong case for identifying the honorand with Ti. Claudius Novius, the first (known to us) high priest of the Sebastoi in Athens, probably associated, as Spawforth also points out, with the reorganization of the imperial cult around this time.⁷³ A fragmentary statue base at Eleusis is probably also to be associated with Novius, honoring him as high priest and agonotheite of the

Great Caesarea Sebasta and the Panathenaia Sebasta.⁷⁴ IG II², 3562 was recorded on Salamis in the 19th century and has since disappeared.⁷⁵ It has correctly been observed that it was probably transported to Salamis from Athens.⁷⁶ But the most likely place in Athens where it originated is Eleusis. It is precisely from there that many inscriptions were removed to Salamis, especially at the end of the seventeenth century during construction of the Monastery of the Phaneromene.⁷⁷ The proximity of Eleusis, with its abundant supply of ancient blocks and its situation on the coast, made it an ideal "quarry" for this purpose. Thus it is far more likely that IG II², 3562 was transferred from there than from central Athens. The statues of members of the imperial family that were found in the architectural complex described above (Fig. 1, no. 9) may well be the ones referred to in this document.

Eleusis offers no further evidence for imperial cult in the first century. To recapitulate, we saw that Augustus was honored as Zeus Boulaïos there by his (ordinary) priest. (There is no sign of a cult of Roma and Augustus.)⁷⁸ Under Tiberius the emperor had both a priest and a high priest at Eleusis, and I assume that they served consecutively. Livia, too, was served by a priest at Eleusis. As Agrippina had a shrine and a priest at Eleusis, Claudius or Nero surely also had a priest who functioned there. The precinct in which their statues were installed is probably attested by an inscription removed to Salamis, and is presumably the architectural complex (Fig. 1, no. 9; Fig. 3) just outside the southern tower of the sanctuary.



FIG. 3. Colonnaded structure: Sebasteion? Photo by the author.



FIG. 4. Shrine? Photo by the author.

The seat in the Theater of Dionysos that read in (evidently) the time of Augustus "priest of Augustus Caesar" had its inscription changed at a later date so as to read "priest and high priest of Augustus Caesar."⁷⁹ We should note that this inscription remained on the seat for the rest of antiquity, even after the title of the priest was officially changed (in the reign of Claudius or Nero) to ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν.⁸⁰ As the earliest known high priest is Polycharmos, who served Tiberius, we may assume that it was during his tenure that the title on the theater seat was expanded from "priest" to "priest and high priest" of the emperor. Although Polycharmos's full title then was "priest and high priest of Augustus Caesar," on his statue base only the short form, "high priest," was used.⁸¹ Spawforth (in a different context) showed that one high priest at Sparta, C. Julius Eurykles Herculanus, was variously called "priest and high priest of the house of the Sebastoi for life," "high priest of the Sebastoi by descent," and simply "high priest of the Sebastoi."⁸² At Athens the case of Polycharmos suggests that similar practice prevailed. When in the late 50's Ti. Claudius Novius assumed the new title of "high priest of the house of the Sebastoi," he evidently did not take offense (nor did any of his successors) at the older title on the theater seat, "priest and high priest of Augustus Caesar"; for it was not changed. However, one may ask what happened earlier when Polycharmos (or possibly his successor as high priest) died and Novius became high priest of Antonia Augusta. At that moment Dionysodoros (or a successor) was the (ordinary) priest of Claudius. If the inscription on the theater seat then read "priest and high priest of

Augustus Caesar," neither of them was entitled to sit in it. This awkward situation may have been one factor that prompted reorganization of the imperial cult, resulting in the new title "high priest of the Oikos of the Sebastoi" for Novius. There would then be no need to change the inscription.⁸³

In summary, the following priests of the imperial family are attested at Eleusis:

[Kallikratides Syndromou Trik]orysios, priest of [Augustus Caes]ar
 Papios Marathonios, priest of Tiberius for life
 Praxag[oras?], priest of [Julia August]a [for life]
 Polycharmos Eukleous Marathonios, high priest of Tiberius
 Eukles Sostrat[ou Marathonios], priest of Julia [Agrippina] Augusta
 T[i. Claudius] Novius Philinou ex Oiou, high priest of the house of the Sebastoi

At any rate, it is clear that to the extent that the clans of the early priests of the emperor are known, these priests belong to the Eleusinian Eumolpidai or Kerykes. These clans dominated the imperial priesthood from the start, and if only for this reason it is not at all surprising that Eleusis was a major center of imperial cult at Athens. In central Athens there is no definitive evidence of a building that housed the cult of the emperor and his family (as opposed to Roma and Augustus), though the annex to the Stoa of Zeus is the most likely possibility, perhaps in function early enough to house the cult of Tiberius and Livia.⁸⁴

For the question of Romanization, the imperial cult at Eleusis offers interesting testimony. In one sense it represents the continuation of a tradition, that of honoring benefactors, actual and potential. But honor expressed in the form of cult was not part of this tradition. It represents a major departure. Yet the principal Eleusinian γένη, the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, appear to have taken it up with enthusiasm: every early incumbent of the imperial priesthood whose family can be identified was a member of one of these clans. On the other hand, the site of the cult, if our surmise proves correct, was not given such priority that it was placed directly in front of the sanctuary, but it received a less conspicuous position behind it.⁸⁵ Less conspicuous but not obscure – it lies between the sanctuary and the stadium – and in the days on which the Mysteries were held it would be surprising if no religious events took place there. More importantly perhaps, to those who arrived at Eleusis by sea (i.e., as tourists, not participants in the Mysteries) the shrine of the emperors would be seen first. Thus the emperor and his family gained an important but discreet, permanent presence at Eleusis.

* * *

The most striking imperial monuments at Eleusis are the very first ones that the visitor now encounters as he arrives in the outer court of the sanctuary: the commemorative arches, one on either side of the court, and the Propylaia (Fig. 1, no. 3). Each of the arches, a copy of the Arch of Hadrian in central Athens, displays a dedicatory inscription in letters 17 cm. high: "To the Two Goddesses and the Emperor, the Panhellenes."⁸⁶ The inscription is so arranged that the word Emperor appears over the center of the arch. The original emperor whom the dedicators had in mind

is most likely Hadrian, the founder of the dedicators themselves, the League of the Panhellenes. The omission of his name may have been due to his wish not to see his name displayed in such inscriptions,⁸⁷ but the more likely purpose of the omission was, I think, simply to link generically the Panhellenes, the Two Goddesses, and the Emperor in a highly visible setting. Thus this dedication would apply to every future emperor. Imperial favor is sought for all time. After Hadrian's death a statue of the deified Hadrian Panhellenios was set up apparently on each arch. Statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina and at least some of their children were added after the death of Marcus (if Commodus was included, his statue has not been preserved).⁸⁸

It has been established with considerable probability that construction of the Propylaia was begun under Hadrian and completed under Marcus Aurelius.⁸⁹ Like the arches, the Propylaia are a copy of another central Athenian monument, in this case the Mnesiclean propylaia on the Acropolis. And the fountain house, next to the eastern arch, exhibits some features of the Library of Hadrian.⁹⁰ We therefore could conclude that the facade of the sanctuary has not been Romanized so much as Athenianized. Major monuments of central Athens reappear at Eleusis and dominate the forecourt of the sanctuary. The effect is to unite Eleusis visually, through architecture, with the center of the city. The visitor cannot help but be reminded of the Acropolis and Hadrianic Athens. At the same time the image of the emperor is fused with the three principal monuments – the word Αὐτοκράτωρ at the apex of either arch, the statue of Hadrian just above, and the bust of Marcus Aurelius on the pediment of the Propylaia: an imperial Athenianization of Eleusis, with a distinctly Roman architectural style reserved for the arches and fountain house.⁹¹

Of course Eleusis belonged to Athens – it held Athens' renowned Panhellenic sanctuary. What is emphasized by this architectural setting, I think, is the Athenian-ness of the Mysteries. They are Athens' contribution to all Hellenes, a contribution she was proud of at least as far back as the early fifth century – it provided one of the arguments Isokrates used for promoting Athens as leader of a Panhellenic mission. Indeed, this Athenianization of Eleusis represents a culmination of a process that we can trace through the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. whereby, in Athenian propaganda about Eleusis, in art and oratory, Eleusis seems to lose its identity as a place.⁹² We see this process culminating in Isokrates' *Panegyricus* (28–29), so that when he refers to the Mysteries he does not even mention Eleusis by name. So too in Cicero's famous passage on the Mysteries there is no mention of Eleusis: the Mysteries were produced by Athens. The Hadrianic architectural Athenianization of Eleusis serves to represent politically the Mysteries as Isokrates represented them. At the same time the architectural arrangement proclaims the close connection of the new League of the Panhellenes with the Mysteries (indeed the League was probably in charge of the financial administration of the sanctuary at this time).⁹³ And it surely is no coincidence that the League was endowed with features that Isokrates attributes to Athens in his description of the city.

At any rate, this is the image that Eleusis presented at the end of the second century, before Roman emperors largely lost interest in the sanctuary. It expressed a plan that was begun under Hadrian and completed by Marcus Aurelius. Its essential inspiration surely came from Hadrian but is consistent with Athenian feelings that

we find in the Athens described by Isocrates; and the monumental expression of thanks to the emperor continues a very ancient Athenian tradition of thanking in a great way its great benefactors. So we may say that it is a very special type of Romanization that Hadrian achieved, and perhaps only he could have achieved, in contributing to the Athenianization of Eleusis.

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I am grateful to Michael Hoff for discussing various imperial monuments with me at Eleusis, and to him and Olga Palagia for their on-site discussions of the annex to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora. Discussions at the conference with Tony Spawforth and consultation of a post-conference draft of his paper were especially helpful as I considered the problem of the imperial cult at Eleusis. I am especially grateful to the Archaeological Society in Athens and the Archaeological Service for permission to study the inscriptions at Eleusis.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Agora XV</i>	B.D. Meritt and J.S. Traill, <i>Agora XV: The Athenian Councillors</i> (Princeton 1974).
Clinton, <i>Iconography</i>	K. Clinton, <i>Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> (SkrAth Series in 8° 11, Stockholm 1992).
Clinton, "Roman Initiates"	"The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267," <i>ANRW</i> II.18.2 (Berlin 1989) 1499–1539.
Clinton, <i>Sacred Officials</i>	K. Clinton, <i>The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries</i> (Philadelphia 1974).
Geagan, <i>Constitution</i>	D.J. Geagan, <i>The Athenian Constitution After Sulla</i> (<i>Hesperia</i> Suppl. 12, Princeton 1967).
Graindor, <i>Auguste</i>	P. Graindor, <i>Athènes sous Auguste</i> (Cairo 1927).
Oliver, <i>Expounders</i>	J. Oliver, <i>The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law</i> (Baltimore 1950).

NOTES

1. Cf. K. Clinton, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis," in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg eds., *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London/New York 1993) 110–23, esp. 110–12. For the Romans at Eleusis who are discussed and mentioned in this paper, see the documentation (including literary references) given in my "Roman Initiates," which will not be repeated here. My aim in the present paper is to explore the interaction between Romans and Athenians at Eleusis and to discuss new information that has come to light since "Roman Initiates."
2. On the journey: K. Clinton, "Sacrifice at the Eleusinian Mysteries," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G.C. Nordquist eds., *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the 5th*

- International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 26–29 June 1986 (SkrAth Series in 4° 38, Stockholm 1988) 69–79.*
3. Cf. Clinton, *Iconography* 85–90.
 4. Cf. Clinton, *Iconography* 91–94.
 5. On this political use of the Mysteries, K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens," in W. Coulson, O. Palagia, T.L. Shear, Jr., H.A. Shapiro, and F. Frost eds., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4–6, 1992* (Oxford 1994) 161–72.
 6. On documentation for Roman visitors and benefactors, see above, n. 1.
 7. D. Kienast, "Hadrian, Augustus und die eleusinischen Mysterien," *JNG* 10 (1959/60) 61–69, pl. II:2 argued that he allowed his initiation to be advertised on coins that were struck in the Greek East: they show a bundle of six stalks of wheat with the inscription AUGUSTUS. But A. Alföldi, "Redeunt Saturnia regna, VII," *Chiron* 9 (1979) 507–606, esp. 583 pointed out that the motif occurs on coins of other emperors, including some who were most probably not initiated.
 8. Clinton, "Roman Initiates," 1514; cf. N.H. Kennel, "ΝΕΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝΙΚΗΣ," *AJP* 109 (1988) 239.
 9. E. Vanderpool, "Three Inscriptions from Eleusis," *ArchDelt* 23 A' (1968) 7–9, no. 3 (=SEG XXIV, 212). The calculation of 12 assumes the sixth letter was stigma.
 10. SEG XXII, 110, lines 99–101.
 11. IG II², 3426.
 12. IG II², 3427.
 13. *ILLRP* 401.
 14. Cass. Dio 39.61, 63; Cic. *QFr.* 3.5.8.
 15. Cic. *Div.* 1.105; Val. Max. 1.8.10; cf. M. Beard in *CAH²* IX, 759.
 16. IG II², 3513 with A.E. Raubitschek, "Phaidros and His Roman Pupils," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 96–103.
 17. On Atticus and Athens, see most recently C. Habicht, *Athen: die Geschichte einer Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 1995) 326–28 (with bibliography).
 18. See A.E. Raubitschek, "Octavia's Deification at Athens," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 146–50; cf. M. Hoff, "Augustus, Apollo, and Athens," *MusHelv* 49 (1992) 223–232.
 19. For its publication, see supra n. 9. Vertical bars indicate the edge of the block.
 20. See supra 163.
 21. On the temple see, most recently, M. Hoff, "The Politics and Architecture of the Athenian Imperial Cult," in A. Small ed., *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity* (*JRA Suppl.* 17, Ann Arbor 1996) 185–200, esp. 185–88 (with bibliography).
 22. For imperial cult in Athens in general and the bibliography on this subject, see Spawforth, this volume.
 23. IG II², 3173.
 24. See Spawforth, this volume, 184.
 25. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 92; Oliver, *Expounders* I 29, 30.
 26. IG II², 5114.
 27. IG II², 5034, initial phase; Spawforth (this volume, 184–85), drawing on M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (*Vestigia* 15, Munich 1972) 94, pl. IX, who describes the phases.
 28. See Spawforth, this volume, n. 59, who makes a good case for dating the inscription after the death of Augustus. We do not know whether this priest had a prominent seat while Augustus was alive.

29. The restorations of lines 1–2 and the first word of line 3 are mine. I had not construed the first two lines by the time of the conference and so did not include this document in my paper there.
30. A. Skias, *ArchEph* 1897, col. 51, no. 22.
31. Erected by an agonothete of the ephebic games: D. Peppas-Delmousou, "A Statue Base for Augustus IG II² 3262+IG II² 4725," *AJP* 100 (1979) 125–32 (=SEG XXIX, 167).
32. *Agora* XV, 282 (IG II², 3502), 286 (IG II², 1757), 287 (IG II², 3503).
33. IG II², 3546; on his priesthood, Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, 29–30, no. 18.
34. Nor do we have such evidence for any member of the imperial family whose name ended with the title of Caesar. Drusus the elder received cult after his death, in his own right, his priest being always the archon eponymous (which seems impossible here); cf. Graindor, *Auguste* 157; Geagan, *Constitution* 8.
35. Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia: IG II², 1813 (=Agora XV, 445, Zeus Boulaios [and Athena Boulaia?]), 3543, 5054. Their shrine in the Bouleuterion: Antiphon 6.45. Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia: A.E. Raubitschek, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 64–66, no. 17 (=Agora XV, 269); D.G. Geagan, "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 161–62, no. 3 (=SEG XXXIII, 198). Cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 128.
36. According to IG II², 1078 the Bouleuterion in the sanctuary was still functioning in the early third century A.D. The Areopagos probably met there sometime in the period A.D. 38–48; IG IV², 83, line 2; on the date, A.J.S. Spawforth, "Families of Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes," *BSA* 80 (1985) 215–19, 248–54.
37. Of the last letter in line 2 only the left oblique stroke is preserved. The restoration $\delta \iota \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \upsilon \varsigma \alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \upsilon$ καὶ Ἀ[θηναῖος Βουλαίας is unlikely; no Athenian priest is attested as serving in the same priesthood both the reigning emperor and (with the exception of Roma) another god; service to the other god would be represented by a separate priesthood, held simultaneously. Nor can the restoration be ἀ[ρχων], because the heraldship was not held simultaneously with the archonship.
38. See *infra* 169.
39. IG II², 3261; Lenormant was the editor who referred to the block as an architrave.
40. Inv. no. E 844, published by A. Skias, *ArchEph* 1897, col. 60, no. 41. The restoration of line 1 and most of the rest is mine.
41. I see nothing definitely architectural about it, nor does Michael Hoff.
42. H.A. Thompson, "The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 171–87; H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *Agora XIV: The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 102–103.
43. See Spawforth, this volume, 186–88.
44. As I explained in my conference paper, Roma and Augustus ought to be housed together, as on the Acropolis; the purpose of this arrangement was that the limelight would be shared, and this would be defeated by putting each in a separate chamber.
45. This temple, mentioned by Thompson, was dedicated to the emperors at Lepcis Magna early in the reign of Tiberius (14–19), and in it were placed, according to the neo-Punic dedicatory inscription and the finds, statues of Divus Augustus and Roma, Tiberius and Julia Augusta, Germanicus and Drusus Caesar, Agrippina wife of Germanicus and Livia wife of Drusus, and Antonia mother of Germanicus and Agrippina mother of Drusus; H. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti: eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* (Rome 1985) 226–30; cf. D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the West* II.1 (Leiden 1991) 521–22, with further bibliography. The statues of the two pairs Augustus and Roma, Tiberius and Livia were larger, and were presumably the primary focus of the worship.

46. See *supra* 166.
47. E. Vanderpool, "Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius," *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 86–90.
48. Thompson, "Annex" (*supra* n. 42) 174.
49. O. Palagia advises (*pers. comm.*) that the molding should be compared with moldings of the second century A.D. to determine whether a date in that period might be more appropriate.
50. *IG II²*, 3530.
51. Kirchner, *ad IG II²*, 3530, 3594; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* (Hildesheim 1983) II, 53.
52. *IG II²*, 3524.
53. *IG II²*, 3274. The base was found by the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa, which was built into a tower in the Herulian Wall next to the Stoa of Attalos; on the location of the church, see A. Frantz, *Agora XXIV: Late Antiquity: A.D. 267–700* (Princeton 1988) 7–8.
54. Oliver, *Expounders* 99, was led to think that "the high priesthood grew out of a close association with the priesthood of Apollo Patrous," but we now know the process was more complex.
55. As I urged and Spawforth (this volume, 185) now agrees.
56. *IG II²*, 1092, line 28; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials* 35–36.
57. On the date cf. Ameling (*supra* n. 51) 50. He was archon sometime between 8 B.C. and A.D. 22/3.
58. *IG II²*, 3535, dated by S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* (Paris 1976) 161, to 47/8 or 51/2. He evidently did not hold it in the year 42, as *IG II²*, 3271 seems to indicate. With regard to another possible priesthood of Antonia, the drawing of *IG II²*, 5095 published as *IG III*, 315 does not inspire confidence in Dittenberger's reading *ιερέας θ[εᾶς] Ἀντωνίας*. It is unclear to me whether the parts of this inscription are contemporaneous, and how it should be read.
59. *IG II²*, 3266A and Spawforth, this volume, n. 39, with reference to Kapetanopoulos.
60. *IG II²*, 3274. On the man see S. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens: Epigraphic and Prosopographic Essays on the Athenian Healing Cults* (Amsterdam 1991) 227, 231.
61. *IG II²*, 1990. On the reorganization, see Spawforth, this volume, 188–91.
62. For an attractive hypothesis why particular individuals received the title in this period, see Spawforth, this volume, 185.
63. The vertical bars indicate the edge of the block.
64. [Sen.] *Oct.* 611, Cass. Dio 61.16.2. Except for Eleusis there seems to be little evidence for this outside of Rome; an example in Epidauros, W. Peek, *Neue Inschriften von Epidauros* (Berlin 1972) no. 76. There is disagreement whether the Senate issued a formal *damnatio memoriae*: for arguments contra, see A.A. Barrett, *Agrippina: Sex, Power, and Politics in the Early Empire* (New Haven 1996) 192–93 (he lists the Epidaurian inscription on 224, no. 35); for arguments pro, see W. Eck, *Agrippina die Stadtgründerin Kölns* (Cologne 1993) 88 n. 196.
65. Inv. no. 5086; K.G. Kanta, *Ἐλευσίνα: Ὁ μύθος, τὰ μυστήρια, ἡ ἱστορία καὶ τὸ μουσεῖο τῆς* (Athens 1979) 96.
66. K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis: A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum* (Athens 1936) 95–96.
67. Unfortunately the only account of it is a brief report in *AA* 1927, 349.
68. D. Giraud, *Η κυρία εἰσοδος του ιεροῦ της Ελευσίνος* (Athens 1991) 60–69. Confirmation of the identification of the krepis and the Augustan date is desirable.
69. *AA* 1927, 347–48; M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae II* (The Hague 1960) 385–86, no. 2349, who doubted the Mithraic interpretation (when the structure was thought to belong to the second century A.D.). No Mithraeum earlier than the end of the first century A.D. has been identified; see now M. Clauss, *Mithras: Kult und Mysterien* (Munich 1990) 31–32.

70. It is clearly not identical with the structure in honor of the emperor and Livia that I described *supra* 163, 165.
71. The Greek text is given by Spawforth, this volume, 189.
72. Spawforth, this volume, 190.
73. Spawforth, this volume, 190–91.
74. Unpublished, inv. no. E 143: [- - καὶ ἀρχιερέα - - - Σε] | βασιτ[- - - - -
- - - - -] | καὶ ἀγῶ[νοθέτην τῶν Με] | γάλων [Καίσαρῶν Σεβα] | στῶν [καὶ
Παναθηναίων] | Σεβα[στῶν καὶ στρατη] | γήσα[ντα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα?]. The same
combination of festivals was served by Novius: *IG* II², 3535 (=SEG XXI, 742).
75. It was read by K.B. Stark, *Nach dem griechischen Orient* (Heidelberg 1874) 406 and by
Koehler, whose copy Dittenberger used for *IG* III, 728.
76. Cf. Oliver, *Expounders* 97 n. 48.
77. Eleusinian inscriptions on Salamis: *IG* II², 3507, 3531, 3577, 3686, 4096, 4753; *AM* 18
(1893) 208–209, no. 2. In November 1991 I recorded another built into the monastery. On
the transfer of *IG* II², 3507 to Salamis and the date of the monastery, see B.D. Meritt, "The
Epigraphic Notes of Francis Vernon," in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie
Shear* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, Baltimore 1949) 213–27, esp. 225.
78. I see no reason to assume any significant connection between the cult of the emperor
alone and the cult of Roma and Augustus. The status of the latter was eventually reduced
below the level of the former; see *supra* 166 and *infra* 173.
79. *IG* II², 5034. See *supra* 166 with n. 27.
80. See *supra* 170.
81. *IG* II², 3530; see *supra* 169.
82. Spawforth, this volume, 190.
83. This seems better than to suppose that the inscription was first expanded during or after
the reorganization: at that point it would be most natural to make the inscription conform
to the new title simply by adding APX to the existing ΙΕΡΕΩΣ.
84. See *supra* 168–69 and Spawforth, this volume, 186, who also considers the Temple of
Ares as a possible site. Hoff (*supra* n. 21) 185–200 and "The So-Called Agoranomion and
the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Athens," *AA* 1994, 93–117, has argued, not
implausibly, that the cult of Claudius was housed near the Roman Agora.
85. Whether the large structure on which the dedication to Augustus and Livia appears was
situated in front of the sanctuary is unclear. The present position of the preserved blocks,
around the church of St. Zachary, offers a slight argument in favor.
86. *IG* II², 2958.
87. Cf. *Vita Hadriani* 20.4.
88. On the statues and the arch, see Clinton, "Roman Initiates" 1519–20, 1533; *idem*,
"Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis," in S. Walker and A. Cameron
eds., *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum
Colloquium* (*BICS* Suppl. 55, London 1989) 56–68, esp. 58–63.
89. On its start and completion, see Clinton, "Hadrian's Contribution" (*supra* n. 88); on its
start, D. Giraud, "The Greater Propylaia at Eleusis, a Copy of Mnesikles' Propylaia," in
Walker and Cameron (*supra* n. 88) 69–75; *idem* (*supra* n. 68) 115–50, 260–76; his
unconvincing view that the structure was completed under Commodus is discussed in
my articles just cited.
90. See A.K. Orlandos, 'Η κρήνη τῆς Ἐλευσίνος, in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*
(Princeton 1936) 282–95.
91. On the Roman aesthetic of Hadrianic buildings in Athens, see the observations of M.
Boatwright, "Hadrian, Athens and the Panhellenion," *JRA* 7 (1994) 426–31, esp. 431.

92. K. Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries and Panhellenism in Democratic Athens," in Coulson et al. eds. (supra n. 5) 161-72.
93. That the League was in charge of the administration of the sanctuary was a suggestion I made in "Hadrian's Contribution" (supra n. 88) 57. Corroborating evidence is found in *IG II²*, 1092 (=SEG XXV, 106), which Spawforth and Walker have shown to be a decree of the Panhellenion (A.J.S. Spawforth and S. Walker, "The world of the Panhellenion: I. Athens and Eleusis," *JRS* 75 [1985] 101); it clearly concerns the financial administration of the sanctuary (see discussion in my forthcoming edition of Eleusinian inscriptions).